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DOCUMENTS

1. *Letters of Gideon J. Pillow to James K. Polk, 1844*

THE following letters, written by Gideon J. Pillow to James K. Polk immediately before and during the Democratic national convention of 1844, are a part of the collection of Polk Papers recently acquired by the Library of Congress. The letter from Jackson to Butler is among the Van Buren Papers, also in the Library of Congress.

Van Buren's letter stating his position in opposition to the annexation of Texas appeared April 20, 1844. It was in complete antagonism to the expressed opinion of Jackson upon the same subject according to his letter to A. V. Brown, possibly written in 1843 but not made public until the spring of 1844. Jackson, of whose sincere desire for Van Buren's nomination there can be no question, attempted to neutralize the impression caused by Van Buren's attitude by a letter to the *Nashville Union* dated May 13, 1844, in which he stated that Van Buren's opposition to the annexation of Texas proceeded from a knowledge of the question only as it had existed in 1841. The communication to the *Union* was followed the next day by a confidential letter to B. F. Butler, chairman of the New York delegation at the Baltimore convention and Van Buren's personal manager. This was given to Donelson, Jackson's nephew, to deliver at the convention. After Van Buren's name had been withdrawn by Butler, he referred to Jackson's letter as the "prayer of Old Hickory for a re-united Democracy".

Donelson was accompanied to Washington by Laughlin and Pillow, both of them intimate friends of Polk. At Washington they met the other delegates from Tennessee. The delegation consisted of Pillow, the chairman, Donelson, Laughlin, Alexander Anderson (senator in 1840-1841, and a staunch Calhoun man), John Blair (representative from Tennessee from 1823 to 1835), Taylor, Childress (Polk's brother-in-law), Powell, and five congressmen from Tennessee: Blackwell, Cullom, Andrew Johnson, Cave Johnson, and George W. Jones. Pillow's letters show that Polk's ambition was limited to the vice-presidency. In the convention of 1840 Polk had received the vote of one delegate for the second place on the ticket. He had reason to hope for better support at the Baltimore

convention. The Tennessee state convention, which had expressed no preference for the presidency, indorsed Polk for the vice-presidency.¹ In Arkansas Van Buren and Polk had been selected as the choice of the state convention which met in December, 1843. The same preference was shown in the vote of the Mississippi convention held in January, 1844. Polk's name was therefore coupled with Van Buren's, but Van Buren's attitude on the question of Texas had wholly changed the complexion of affairs. Polk was taken up by the Van Buren faction after their candidate had been cut off from the nomination by the adoption of the two-thirds rule in order to defeat Cass, whose strength was increasing with each ballot.

JESSE S. REEVES.

I. ANDREW JACKSON TO B. F. BUTLER OF NEW YORK.

HERMITAGE,

May 14th. 1844.

Confidential.

My dear sir,

This will be handed to you by my Nephew Major A. J. Donelson who goes on to the Baltimore Convention to whom I refer you for the political news of the west, and the great excitement, Mr. V. Burens letter has created, and I fear it will be difficult to allay, and reunite the democracy in his favour. Clays letter had prostrated him with the Whiggs in the South and West, and nine tenths of our population had declared in favour of Mr V. Buren and annexation of Texas—when this, illfated, letter made its appearance, and fell upon the democracy like a thunderbolt. Had it have been in accordance, with the editorial of the Globe, all would have been well. *All* the democrats believed that Mr. V. Buren, under the present circumstances, would have been in favour of annexation, but from the present excitement, it will be difficult to reconcile those southern and western democrats, *all* in favour of *annexation*, to Mr. V. B. You might as well, it appears to me, attempt to turn the current of the Miss[iss]ippi, as to turn the democracy from the annexation of Texas, to the United States, by Joint Resolution, Act of Congress, or by Treaty. Had Mr. V. B. and Benton taken a view of the population of Texas, where from, and the places of the birth of the Texian prisoner[s] at Perote in Mexico, the[y] might have judged of the feelings of the South and West. If they had taken into view the exposed Situation of Neworleans, with Texas in the hands of Great Britain, added to the danger of British influence upon our Western Indians, on the event of war, and the *dreadful scenes apprehended from* a servile war, with the Indians combined, on our South and west,—the

¹ In a letter written after the Tennessee convention, Polk took pains to assure Van Buren that he and eleven of the thirteen delegates selected for the Baltimore convention were favorable to Van Buren's candidacy, notwithstanding the silence of the state convention. Polk to Van Buren, November 30, 1843, Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress.

feelings of the west might have been well judged of on this Subject. Why hesitate to accept the annexation from Texas, ["an independent nation" stricken out] with whom all the important nations have treated as an independent nation, when we treated with Mexico for a retrocession of that part of Louisiana, now Texas surrendered by that foolish Treaty of 1819—without the consent of Spain—extending the same rules to Texas as we did to Mexico, why hesitate to receive the proffered Boon from Texas, as we were ready to receive from Mexico by treaty, without waiting for the consent of Spain. But I refer you to Major Donelson, and my published letter in the Union in answer to many letters recd, on this allengrossing Subject. I must¹ remark in conclusion, that I have it in the most positive and authentic form, from the highest authority of Texas, that if her offer is now re-rejected [*sic*], Texas is lost to the United States forever, until regained at the point of the Bayonet. That her depressed situation, will, from necessity, compel her to seek relief by engagements with some foreign power—that *will be England*, unless indeed, Congress will gu[a]rantee her independence by Legislative enactment.² I say to you Frankly, that this is the fate of Texas, and nothing can restore Mr V. Burren [*sic*] But such resolution by the democratic convention. I hope for the best. I have been greatly grieved at the result. There was no *Tyler interest* in the South and west—and Mr. V. B. letter and Col Bentons is the only thing that could give him populari-[ty]³ in the South or west. Such is now the united Sentiment of *all* in the South and west. Here it is not viewed as a party question, but the cry is that no candidate for the presidency or vice, will be supported, that are not in favor of speedy annexation of Texas—it is said *delay is dangerous*. I am so feeble I can scarcely wield the pen—and much grieved at the late occurrence, when Mr. V. B. would have been elected by almost acclamation by the South and West. And my friend Col Benton will not, I fear be sustained in his present position. Missouri, is for speedy annexation, regardless of the smiles or frown of foreign nations. The Safety of the Republic being the supreme law—and believing that the annexation of Texas is es[s]ential to the Safety of the Republic—and the key to that safety, being offered in peace to us by an independent nation, it is believed it ought to be speedily received, the door locked fast against all future dangers, and ["thereby all danger to" inserted] our glorious Union preserved and the harmony and prosperity of the whole Union restored. *The Union must be preserved*, and this step taken I have no fears of its disruption by evil men.

May God bless you my dear friend, and preside over the deliberations of the convention and confidence by all the democracy again united on Mr. V. B. is the sincere prayer of your sincere friend

B. F. Butler Esqr.

ANDREW JACKSON.

¹ Written "musk remark".

² "or Treaty" erased.

³ End of line with hyphen. Word not finished.

P. S. Our friend Benton cannot sustain himself in the position taken, for he sustain[e]d the attempt to regain Texas by Treaty from Mexico, against the remonstrance, and without the assent of Spain. How I regret the present condition of things. Mr. V. B. had the united vote of the democracy in the South and West. Clays letter gave him two third[s] of the W[h]iggs—and this prospect dashed to pieces, by assuming ground, that we had disregarded as to Spain, when treating with Mexico for Texas, and which Col Benton had sustained. My *regrets are too many*, and I close A. J

[Address:] Benjamin. F. Butler Esqr

Delegate to the 27th. May Convention at Baltimore
By Major A. J. Donelson.

[Indorsement in pencil by Van Buren(?) :] A J May 14 '44 By Donelson on his way to Convention.

II. GIDEON J. PILLOW TO JAMES K. POLK.

WASHINGTON CITY

May 22nd., 1844

Dear Govr.

Myself and Col. Laughlin reached this city yesterday evening. Since that time we have been busily engaged exami[ni]ng into the condition of things here and though I had expected to find much confusion and excitement among our friends, yet I confess myself much surprised at the extent of the *distractions* and the bitterness of feeling which exists between the Van Buren men and the disaffected portion of the party. This last party I am satisfied is daily gaining strength by the arrival of delegations from regions of the country which have been lost by V——'s¹ letter. I have spent a good portion of this day in confidential consultation with Gov. Bagby² and Wright.³ Last night I was with Cave J——⁴ The *two former*, who are the leaders of the V—— force (Benton being excepted) and who represent the feeling and determination of the V—— B—— Democracy, say they are unable to suggest any remedy for the existing state of things. They say the northern Democracy will never yield up their preference for V—— and that his name will in no event be withdrawn.

The Democracy or rather the Delegates of the south west and west are making an extraordinary effort for Cass and many of them are going so far with their opposition to V—— as to declare they won't go into Convention if he is to be the nominee and that they won't support him in any event. If they continue to occupy that ground, they will break up *the party* and will leave no hope of reconciliation. Among the very

¹ Van Buren's.

² Arthur P. Bagby, senator from Alabama 1841–1848.

³ Silas Wright of New York.

⁴ Cave Johnson of Tennessee.

worst of these *aggitators* is [*sic*] your friends Geo. W. Jones and Genl Anderson. The last is doing us great mischief. He wants an office from Tyler and is violent in his abuse of V—— and is for Tyler or any body else. I have gone to work to try and get the northern and southern branches of the party to agree to meet in convention and to try who is the strongest man and to agree to submit to the Decision of the convention. I have to night had Powell, Blair, Jones, [and] Blackwell at my room, talking and consulting about the plan to be adopted. We have fixed upon Tomorrow night for general meeting of our Tennessee delegation to shape our course of action with an eye single to the restoration of the re-union of the party and of your nomination. I think we shall be able ultimately to get the divisions of the party together in the convention, but there [are] some serious difficulties in the way. The disaffected say they won't go into Convention unless Two thirds of the convention shall be necessary to make a nomination.

Understanding what would be the result of such a principle, the other party refuse to make any such agreement—insisting that a majority only shall make the nomination. In this attitude the parties now stand, abusing each other most bitterly. I do not despair of union, yet, but I confess the prospect is most gloomy. Both parties seem to look to you as the probable V—— P——¹ There is however so much distraction and division and difficulty about the *first*—that but little is said of the *second* and I think it now best to use all our influence and power to *heal the wounds* of the party and re-unite it if possible and until that is done, say but little about the V—— P——

If we do not unite *all is lost*. If we do unite we will then I feel confident get your nomination—although *old Dick*² is here and pressing himself strongly upon the party and actually electioneering with all his might.

You see we have troubles enough. We are certainly in deep water. My great effort shall be to *conciliate* and to hold things in attitude to secure your nomination no matter which party may succeed Laughlin and myself act together in this view of the case and I think we will be able to get all the Tennessee Delegation to co-operate in a silent acquiescence in the action of the Convention except Anderson and possibly Jones. No effort shall be left *undone*. If the party should not be totally broken up I think we will get you [on] the ticket. We are pretty certainly to have a *sort of ticket for* Tyler, and we are much afraid the disaffected will *secede* from the convention and join the Tyler Convention.

You see Gov. we are at *sea* and upon a *boisterous* one at that. I hope to succeed and you may rely upon all my exertions being used for that purpose. I have a good deal I should like to explain connected with Tyler's game here *to use up* the Democracy and buy them off from

¹ Vice-president.

² Richard M. Johnson.

V—— but I can't do it in this letter. I will write you again soon and make Laughlin do so to[o]. You shall be kept constantly advised of every movement of interest—and when you do not hear from us it will [be] because things have assumed no new aspect. Childress arrived this evening.

Yours

GID. J. PILLOW

[Address:] Hon: James K. Polk, Columbia, Tennessee.

III. PILLOW TO POLK.

WASHINGTON, May 24d.¹ 44

Dear Govr.

Since my last letter to you our troubles have *increased*. The anti-Van Buren party are becoming *stronger* and though Van can get, agreeably to the best estimates, I can make, about 145 votes in convention,² yet I fear the Two thirds rule will be *adopted* by the aid of the vote of Pennsylvania and that of a part of the Tennessee delegation who cant be controuled upon this question. Cass can get, as his friends think, about 80 votes on the first ballot and Johnson will get the ballance. On the 2nd. ballot Cass' friends think he will take the vote of Pennsylvania from V—— which will give him about 106 votes. These estimates, if correct, you will see render the result exceedingly doubtful. The Johnson votes, will go for Cass, which will give him a majority, but whether he can get *two thirds* so as to nominate him, under that rule is very doubtful.

The breach between the V——'s and anti-V——'s has become impassible. The parties will never meet except upon some other man than Cass, unless Cass should have strength enough to carry him through under the 2/3 rule. The Tennessee Delegation had a meeting night before last. Jones and Andy Johnson *were there* and were ready to *sacrifice* you, to get clear of V—— They both profess to be your friends and have been kind enough to say that they are unwilling for your name to go on V——'s ticket. So says Collum [Cullom], and *some others* of your friends, also.

Upon the subject of the Vice Presidency, not much has been said until to day. To day the report has been busily circulated that your friends were looking to Benton's and Van's friends for support for you, and with some it was even said that a distinct understanding existed etc. Having been called upon as your immediate representative by several of the disaffected I disclaimed in the most positive terms, any such understanding. They then pressed me and hard for our position and said that if Polks friends voted for V—— they would not vote for P——. These were a part of the Mississippi and part of the North Carolina delegation. I took the position that as we intended to place your name before the Convention, we thought it our duty to be

¹ Written over "23d".

² Van Buren had 146 on the first bailot.

modest and not to *be active* in arraying the parties, that I thought we ought not to interfere etc. but that we would cast our votes without reference to the V—— P—— etc. and when we had determined upon our course as we would before the convention met, it would be known etc. The object you will easily understand is to *force* me as your friend to commit myself against V—— and to compel all your friends to do so to[o]. What this move will result in I cannot tell. I do not think V—— will get the nomination. I think he will be cut off under the 2/3 rule—and I much fear the loss of strength to you, in Alabama—Miss—North Carolina and Virginia by the position we will be obliged to take with reference to the Presidency.

I am now satisfied that it is contemplated to run Stephenson¹ for the V—— P—— on Cass' ticket. This the disaffected deny, but the thing is sure to work out that way. If it were not for the present organization of parties here and the embarrassment which is brought upon you by the *Conspiracy*,² you have more strength with the Democracy than any man whose name has come before the country, and though by the[se] movements I regard everything as thrown into confusion and uncertainty I would not still be surprised if a compromise were finally made by both parties taking you up, for the P——³ This I give as a *possability*.

Jones and Anderson are wholly *ravid* and we do not now consult with them at all. I saw your letter to C—— J——⁴ and noted its suggestions. Medary and his Ohio people we think will certainly go for you for V—— though we can only judge from the intercourse we have. Gov. Mo[r]ton of Massachusetts is for you and he says his Delegation he thinks will all go for you. The Illinois and Indiana delegation[s] are friendly to you—some of the [*sic*] them particularly of the first mentioned State, are clear for you. It is said *Benton*, now prefers you. He keeps dark on the subject however. It is impossible for me to give you even a brief outline of one half I want to wright [*sic*]. You may consider every thing—even the fate of the party—as at *sea*—every thing is *doubtful*. The foundations of party are all broken up here, and I do not believe they will ever be reconciled. You know I am not in this state of things *idle*. There are so many *aggitators* and reckless men who are looking to their own aggrandisement and care nothing for the party or the country, that it [is] impossible to controul the *moving mass*.

We will spare no effort to get things *quieted*. C—— J—— and all our friends are almost in *dispair* of *every thing*. We shall go to Baltimore tomorrow being Saturday.

Your Friend

GID. J. PILLOW

¹ Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, Speaker of the House 1827–1834, and minister to Great Britain 1836–1841.

² "The Anti-Van Buren Conspiracy".

³ Presidency.

⁴ Cave Johnson.

IV. PILLOW TO POLK.

WASHINGTON CITY

Dear Sir,

Saturday 25th. May '44

A better feeling prevails to day and I think there is now a prospect of ultimate union. I regard it almost certain Van Buren cannot get the nomination and I think his friends at the north so consider it. Some of them say if the Democracy cannot get along with him at the south and will fix upon a man upon whom the South will *unite*, that they will support him, and the Disaffected say if the North will withdraw V—— that the North may name the man. These concessions indicate a better feeling and will I hope, result in harmonious action. The chief difficulty in getting together under this state of feeling grows out of the rival claims of Johnson, Cass, Woodbury and others. The South may not be able to agree on any man and in this way, we may still have difficulty and it may even be possible, that when the disaffected find themselves unable to agree upon any other man, they may some of them come back to V—— If V—— should be withdrawn or beaten in convention, the chances are strongly in favour of Cass, unless V——'s friends should take you up and unite with your friends of the south to defeat Cass.

You have more friends here than any man in the field and if your name had been brought before the Country for the *first place*, we would have had far more unanimity. I am satisfied you are the choice of 2/3 of the Convention for the Vice, and almost everyone of your friends say they would prefer you for the Presidency. Things may take that turn yet. We of the South cannot bring *that matter* up. If it should be done by the North it will all work *right*, but if we were to make such a move it would in all probability injure your prospects for the Vice. Almost all the Delegates composing the convention have been here. I have made it my *special business* to become acquainted with them and to find out as well as I could, their preference for the *Vice*, and I think it is next to impossible to defeat your nomination if the Convention ever come to any conclusion at all. You are the choice of both branches of the Democratic family beyond all doubt for the Vice, and I do not believe if Stephenson should be brought out, that he can defeat your nomination. He certainly cannot unless there should be a very extraordinary change in the feelings of the convention. Our delegation that portion of it which we can manage are *still and silent*—urging harmony and peace and abstaining from all active interference in arraying the parties against each other. Powell—Anderson—Jones and Blair and Taylor are all determined to go for Cass. Johnson, Lafin, myself, Donalson and Childress are still waiting for further developments and light, before we act or determine what we will do.¹ As far

¹ Cave Johnson to Polk, May 25, 1844, Polk Papers, Library of Congress: "It is probable that Donelson Pillow and myself will scarcely yield Van whilst he is kept up by his friends". Tennessee, however, voted solidly for Cass until the eighth ballot, when Polk's name was brought forward.

as I know or believe or am informed, all V——'s friends are for you. We have carefully avoided saying or doing any thing to alienate their feelings. If we can retain their strength and your own in the south and west, you are safe.

The Ohio Delegates and the New England Delegates, I think are all or nearly so for you. So are New York, but they are very silent. C. Johnson is in low spirits about our prospects and seems to have lost his energy. I feel confident of your success, unless the convention should break up in a row. The Ultra-discontents, who care but little about Texas and only use the power of the measure as a lever to turn out Van and to kill off Benton as his successor, are understood now to play their game with the view of preventing any nomination—and have proposed to have another one in July. But they cannot affect their objects. I received yours of the 17th. Inst to day. We will give you two annexation men I think. The North has become alarmed at the excitement about Texas in the South and say we shall have Texas etc. We shall go to Baltimore this evening. I will write you regularly and daily if I can.

Yours Truly

GID. J. PILLOW.

I do not think you have lost a particle of strength by the report of which I wrote you in my last. It will endear you to the friends of V—— and will recoil on the heads of those who started it as slander and falsehood. I have not heard it mentioned for nearly 2 days. G. J. P.

V. PILLOW TO POLK.

[BALTIMORE,] May 28th. 44.

My Dear Sir

We have been all day engaged balloting for Candidate for President. We commenced at 149 for Van and 82 for Cass.¹ After 6 Ballotings we now stand 99 for Van and 116 for Cass—32 for Johnson and 35 for Buckhannon.² We have for 2 hours past had the most extraordinary excitement in Convention. The whole Convention had well-nigh got into a general pel-mell fight. The Ohio Delegation produced it all. At this moment the excitement is still wholly ungovernable by the Chair. If the balloting continues the chances will be for the nomination of Cass judging from the present vote. The V B—— men will not go for Cass and the Buckhannon men say they wont. I doubt very much if Cass can ever get 2/3 of the votes. I have within the last few minutes received a proposition from a leading Delegate of the Pennsylvania and of Massachusetts to bring your name before the Convention for President. I said to them that your name was subject to the will of the Con-

¹ The first ballot was: Van Buren, 146; Cass, 83; R. M. Johnson, 24; Calhoun, 6; Buchanan, 4; Woodbury, 2.

² The sixth ballot was: Van Buren, 101; Cass, 116; Johnson, 24; Buchanan, 25; Calhoun, 1. In the seventh ballot Van Buren had 99, Cass 123, Johnson 21, Buchanan 22, and Calhoun 1.

vention that I would not at present bring it before the Convention, that if it was the will of the Convention the name should be brought out by the North.

There is, I think a strong probability of your name ultimately coming up for President. I do not think it prudent to move in *that* matter now. I want the North to bring you forward as a *Compromise* of all interests.

Time will alone tell what will be done. You shall hear from us. We are about adjourning and it is night.

Yours

GID. J. PILLOW¹

VI. PILLOW TO POLK.

[BALTIMORE,] May 29th. 1844

Dear Govr.

On this morning we brought your name before the Convention for the Presidency. On the first ballot you received 42 votes—on the 2nd. you received 266 votes, being every vote in the Convention. The Delegates of South Carolina, then made their appearance and pledged the State of South Carolina to support and sustain the nomination. Never

¹ Cf. George Bancroft to I. G. Harris, Newport, R. I., August 30, 1887, Bancroft Papers, Lenox Library Building, New York: "... Polk owed his nomination by the Democratic Convention to me. . . . I went into the nominating convention enjoying the perfect confidence of the delegation of Massachusetts, confidence that was so great that I might almost call it the power of direction. Van Buren lost the nomination by his declaration against the annexation of Texas, which was not made better by his promising to annex Texas if the Democrats were determined to impose that condition on their candidate. In this way, by Van Buren's own acts, it became impossible to name him; and Virginia came out with a vote for Cass which was followed by others and was rapidly making great headway, and would soon have carried the day in the convention. But I knew perfectly well that Cass could not have been elected. The hatred and jealousy which Van Buren bore him made it absolutely and undisputedly impossible for him to carry the State of New York, and without New York his success would have been desperate or rather impossible. Under those circumstances, I was the one who of my own mind and choice, first, on the adjournment of the nominating convention, for the day, resolved to secure the nomination of Polk. I went first and called our own delegation together, and they instantly and unanimously agreed with me in his favor. I then went and saw the New York delegation, and they also perceived how the case lay; but of course needed to proceed with more caution and more complete deference to Mr. Van Buren's wishes than those of any other state; but they looked at the case with exactly the same eyes as I did. Van Buren implacably detested the thought of Cass as a candidate. I proceeded to the delegation of Tennessee and they naturally accepted the name of Polk joyfully and distributed among themselves that part of the work which I thought they could best do. We went on in this manner; and I remember perfectly that we had gone to so many states with the nomination of Polk, and had met with such success that I knew his name would certainly be brought forward the next morning with the certainty of his gaining the nomination. . . ." Bancroft wrote Van Buren just after the convention that he had "many personal causes for regretting the result" (Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress).

was there such *unanimity*—never was there such *enthusiasm* before seen or witnessed in *any body*. I held you up before the Convention, as the “*Olive Branch of peace*”, and all parties ran to you as to *an ark of safety*.

I was up nearly all night last night in bringing about *this result*. I had many *difficulties* to encounter. But I FAULTED NOT, and this day I had the proud satisfaction of witnessing the *glorious result*—glorious beyond the expectation of any of our delegation or friends.

Silas Wright will be your *Vice* with almost as much unanim[i]ty [*sic*] as you were. What a *ticket*. How *pure*, and *elevated* and Herculean in intellects. I cannot in this letter give you an account of anything but the result. It is *glorious*.

We will sweep every Whig strong hold in the land—we will raise the shout all over the land.

Yours Truly

GID. J. PILLOW

Wright is nominated by a vote of 258 votes on first Ballot. Alls well and glorious and all is *enthusiasm* and Union and Harmony.

G. J. P.

VII. PILLOW TO POLK.

BALTIMORE May 30th. 1844

My Dear Sir,

I wrote you to day giving you the result of the proceedings of this day in the Democratic Convention. I wrote under the influence of great excitement on my part, and in the Convention. I did not then and cannot now give you a full account of the effort made and the means used to bring about a result so astounding to every body. It was all done last night after my letter was written though I had laid the foundation for it yesterday. As I said in my letter of to day I was at it nearly all night. I entered into no Combination—I used *no improper* or *dishonourable* means. It was the *result* and *force* and *power* of *circumstances* which I seized hold of and wielded, as I think with *no little skill* and judgement.

I had good help in some *true-men* in the North who understood the whole *game* and whose names you shall in due *season know*.

I got no help on the work which was done last night from our home people. I communicated the plan and prospect to some of them and they had *no faith* in the *thing* and so expressed themselves. I was fully convinced it would *work out right*—and I worked on until nearly day this morning and this morning—the boys did not know what “*hurt them*”. The fatal blow was given, but it was not *seen* nor known what produced such a result—nor where the blow came from.

I never saw such enthusiasm—such *exultation*—such *shouting for joy*. One Spirit—one *Soul* animates the great party, leaders and all. No one doubts the success of the *Ticket*. Victory is already hovering over our banner, which has been spread to the breezes under the lead of *Polk and Wright*.

Some of our own *faithful* delegation—to whom I have referred several times in my letters—who have done all they could in their secret—assassin-like manner to destroy your prospects and sacrifice you—are overwhelmed with astonishment at this strange result. I shall defer giving you particulars until I can see you in person.

Laughlin has been sick for 2 days and not been able until this afternoon to be in the house.

C—— Johnson says “I am a *great General* and that the first war we have I shall command the Malitia of Tennessee *By God*” I decline the honour of the compliment,—but as it comes from so stale and *sedate* an old gentleman and is so much *out* of character with him, I could not help telling you of it.

This morning just before we went into the Ballotting, my movements during the night had been discovered by a few and powerful efforts were made to defeat it by some of your—*now*—would be friends. Oh Governor how much good it did me to see the boys over-reached—outdone and *whipped* into the ranks. Every man in the Convention is *now* your *warm friend*. If you were here you would imagine yourself the most popular man in the world, and you would be sure you *never had an enemy* in the convention. You cannot know how much pains they take to give in to me *their adhesion* to you, and to impress me with the *great merit* of their *conduct*. I am almost ready to conclude that *your success* has made me a *great man*. Every body wants my “*address*”, and desires me to present *them* and their *services* in the proper point of view to *you*. I laid the foundation for last nights work during the day yesterday. I have written to you freely—fully and without the least reserve and desire that *all my letters* shall be considered *confidential*. I desire this as I do not want to create *enemies* about the matter resulting so *gloriously* as it has.

I shall leave here in the morning for Philadelphia and new York and will be at home about 15th. June

Yours

GID. J. PILLOW

*2. Apolinario Mabini on the Failure of the Filipino Revolution*¹

JOSÉ RIZAL was the most notable of the Filipino propagandists for the extension, by Spain herself, of greater political rights to the islands, and the introduction of an era of greater intellectual freedom in general. Though he worked along peaceable lines entirely, aiming primarily ‘at arousing his own people to their social unfitness, and when the final issue came for peace or war in 1896 put himself openly on the side of peace, yet the Spaniards courted their own destruction by destroying him, at the instance of the ecclesias-

¹ For this document, with its introduction and notes, the readers of the REVIEW are indebted to Mr. James A. Le Roy, United States Consul, Durango, Mexico, recently appointed as Consul at Madrid. Ed.